

Correspondence

Not in Hoyle

EDITOR: Your theatre column is always well worth reading, but I wish you would not cooperate in the corruption of the English language. I believe you have never fallen into the flaunt-flout barbarism, but to say "meld" (AM. 5/16, p. 351) when "blend" is meant is no better. This blunder may be over 21 years old, but it is still a neologism to any pinochle player.

J. B. LAWRENCE

San Bernardino, Calif.

[Meld: To blend. See Webster's New World Dictionary—Ed.]

Personal Interpretation

EDITOR: I was deeply distressed by Fr. Edward Keller's analysis of Frederic Meyer's booklet "Right To Work" (AM. 6/20, p. 441). Rightly does Fr. Benjamin L. Masse underscore his rugged individualism in economic matters. Unfortunately, too, Fr. Keller's individualism overflows into a highly personal analysis of what he reads. This is true both of his comments on authoritative papal documentation and his interpretation of secular literature in the socio-economic field.

(MSGR.) FRANCIS W. CARNEY

Director, Institute of Social Education
St. John College
Cleveland, Ohio

Greetings

EDITOR: The pressure of work in recent weeks has delayed my writing to you to express the felicitations of the American Jewish Committee upon the occasion of your Golden Anniversary. Many of your readers have commented on the passage of time—I now realize that I have been reading AMERICA for almost thirty years.

Our ancient Rabbis spoke of man as a partner of God in the act of creation; certainly AMERICA has fulfilled this image of man as a creator of life. Our nation and the whole free world is richer because of the illumination that has come from the pages of your magazine throughout the years.

RABBI MORRIS N. KERTZER

Director, Interreligious Affairs

The American Jewish Committee
New York, N. Y.

EDITOR: The Christian Democratic Union of Central Europe has long been in close contact with members of your editorial staff and we have followed with interest and

appreciation your views on the problems with which Christian Democracy is most concerned. We therefore express our joy for AMERICA's Fiftieth Anniversary.

The principles of public life which your Review so ably expounds and promulgates are the basis for Christian Democratic political activities over the world and for our union as well. An integral part of the world-wide Christian Democratic movement, our union represents parties and movements of Christian Democratic inspiration formerly active in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe now dominated by communism.

ISTVAN BARANKOVICS, President

LUDOVIK PUSH, Secretary General
Christian Democratic Union
of Central Europe

New York, N. Y.

Catholics in the Dialog

EDITOR: Your editorial remarks (AM. 7/4, p. 486) furnish a helpful clarification of John Cogley's discussion of the role of Catholics in a liberal society. Mr. Cogley feels that experience proves a liberal society can hold together though its "thread of unity" is very "slender." I am not alone, however, in fearing that a "democratic dialog" can be an expensive luxury, unless a determined effort is made to decide what we are talking about.

Is it not time for an objective examination of the concept of a pluralist society? Out where I live, the only plurality is numerical and all one hears in the dialog is echoes. There is a consensus on values and ambitions, but it is one that makes me sick with dread.

ROBERT OSTERMANN

West Chicago, Ill.

Epworth No More

EDITOR: Apropos of your editorial remark ("We Walk Together" AM. 6/27) about the "average American Catholic" who scarcely knows the difference between the Epworth League and the Lambeth Conference, may I remind you that there is no such thing as "the Epworth League," and hasn't been for 20 years! Catholic editorial information about the Methodist Church must come from the H. L. Menck era. We should walk and talk together more.

CLARENCE F. AVEY

Superintendent, Springfield District
New England Conference
The Methodist Church
Springfield, Mass.



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By Mary T. Clark

MOTHER MARY CLARK, R.S.C.J., is a member of the Philosophy Faculty at Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, Purchase, New York. She was born in Philadelphia and received her Ph.D. at Fordham University. Her studies in Plotinus and Augustine were pursued under the direction of Reverend Paul Henry, S.J., of the Institut Catholique in Paris. "I hope this book will have the fine success it merits," Vernon Bourke, Ph.D., author of AUGUSTINE'S QUEST OF WISDOM.

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Current Comment

Pope to Industry

In his first encyclical Pope John XXIII did not forget the cause of the world's workers, which was so much on the minds of his predecessors. He noted with satisfaction that the sharp division of classes which accompanied the rise of industrialism has become less noticeable, and that "there is no longer a question merely of employer and employed." The process of "deproletarianization," with which the Church, especially in Europe, has been so deeply concerned, has gone a long way indeed since the days of Leo XIII.

Yet, wrote Pope John, "there still remains a long way to go." Too many class enmities remain because "there continue to exist too many differences in material possessions." These enmities are compounded, he said, by "the dread specter of unemployment," and more especially, as automation spreads, by that type of unemployment which flows from the displacement of men by machines.

Like Pius XI and Pius XII, the Pope looks beyond the wage contract to a more human and fraternal relationship between employers and workers. Employers, he wrote, "should provide in some suitable way for the workers to share more and more in the fruits of their labor and feel themselves partners in the whole enterprise." The growing number of firms in this country which are practicing profit sharing will like that.

NEA Riding a Rut?

Before the first of the 10,000 delegates and visitors to the National Education Association's annual meeting set foot in St. Louis the final week of June, he could readily have predicted what topics would dominate the convention: Federal aid and school integration.

For the umteenth consecutive year the delegates enthusiastically called for an all-out Federal aid program. They kept telegraph lines to Washington warm, urging their congressional representatives to secure passage of the NEA-

backed Murray-Metcalf bill, which calls for \$4.4 billion for school construction and teachers' salaries over an initial four-year period. Congressmen and Senators were pointedly reminded that their stand on Federal aid would condition future election support.

School integration was the other convention focus. For the fifth straight year the resolutions committee backed away from the issue and offered its same old resolution to let community fair play solve everything. After two hours of debate on the floor, a firmer resolution to support the Supreme Court decisions and several amendments to firm up the meek resolve finally adopted were overwhelmingly rejected by the delegates.

By this compromise the NEA has avoided alienating a portion of its Southern membership. It has also indicated a woeful lack of educational statesmanship. Even after so much of the hard-core resistance to integration in the Southern schools has slackened under court pressure, the NEA seems afraid to stand up and be counted. The nation rightfully expects America's largest professional organization of teachers to be as much concerned with civic problems as with questions of salary.

Red on a Red Carpet

If you don't know what the phrase "mixed reception" means, ask Frol R. Kozlov. The Soviet First Deputy Premier has certainly been getting one. Feted by rich businessmen but virtually ignored by the average American, Mr. Khrushchev's envoy must be wondering what it's all about.

The mayors of three important U.S. cities gave Kozlov widely differing receptions. New York City's Mayor Robert F. Wagner Jr., who in 1957 said neither King Saud of Saudi Arabia nor Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia "is the kind of person we want to recognize in New York City," gave the Soviet emissary a very cordial greeting, and even took him for a boat tour around Manhattan Island.

Some of San Francisco's wealthier citizens went all out for Kozlov. A California millionaire told him: "We capital-

ists . . . have gold on our mind, but believe me, we always have love in our hearts." Kozlov celebrated the Fourth of July at a big barbecue, and took home as gifts a gold pen-and-pencil set, games for his children and perfume for his wife. San Francisco Mayor George Christopher, after a Nob Hill dinner in honor of Kozlov, jotted down his puzzled reactions to the Red visitor. Many observers were even more puzzled by the odd behavior of wealthy San Franciscans who lionized the Soviet traveling salesman.

From San Francisco Mr. Kozlov flew to Detroit, where Mayor Louis C. Miriani had made it clear there was to be no municipal reception. Mrs. Miriani told reporters that her husband had received at least two bushels of congratulatory telegrams. One of them, from a Congressman, said in part: "All honor to you for refusing hospitality to an ambassador of deceit, treachery and murderous ill will." For most Americans, that about summed it up.

Justice for Metropolis

"It is my purpose to dedicate myself as Speaker of this Assembly to bring about a greater realization of the problems of the metropolitan area as contrasted with the rural areas." So spoke Long Islander Joseph F. Carlino early this month when he became the first Republican leader of either house of the New York State legislature to be chosen from the metropolitan area in nearly 100 years.

Mr. Carlino put his finger on a situation that prevails in almost every State. The cities of this country are grossly underrepresented in State legislatures. In New Jersey, Sussex County has 1 State Senator and 1 Assemblyman. Essex County (City of Newark), with over 26 times the population, has 1 Senator and 12 Assemblymen. In Georgia, Fulton County (Atlanta) has 3 members of the lower house of the legislature. Yet it has more population than the State's 46 smallest counties together, each of which has 1 member. A district in Detroit with 364,000 people elects 1 member to the Michigan Senate, while 4 rural counties with only 61,000 population also elect 1 Senator. In Los Angeles County an average of 193,000 persons is represented by 1 member of the California Assembly, while Imperial County

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(out in the desert) has 1 Assemblyman for only 70,800.

In the rapidly urbanizing United States this disproportion in representation is a noose tightening around our collective neck.

Queen of Spacemen

In the catalog of saints there are patrons galore. Brewers and weavers have them; so do wet nurses, plasterers and gravediggers. Travelers call on St. Christopher and aviators invoke the Little Flower. But so far as we know, there is no official patron of astronauts. We have protectors against hernia, snakes and earthquakes. But we have no intercessor against the perils of blast-off, orbiting or re-entry, no guardian of voyagers through the "deserts of vast eternity" that lie beneath the moon, the sun and the distant stars.

The rocket launchers may adopt St. Barbara as their own. The communications engineers in the blockhouses already have St. Gabriel for their advocate. But neither of these, nor even the many patrons of mariners will suffice for the pioneers who navigate in the bowels of space ships. These men need a patron who is powerful on earth and in the heavens, too.

One of our readers suggests that in selecting such an advocate no better choice could be made than Mary Assumed into Heaven. After death our Lady was in a very physical sense borne through outer space, and surely she may be called queen of the starry deeps as well as Queen of Heaven.

We like the suggestion that Mary be chosen patron of the astronauts who will soon be probing the solar system. Certainly there is nothing to hinder devout spacemen from seeking confirmation of the choice by the Holy See.

Colgate Meeting on Cold War

No one who attended Colgate University's annual foreign policy conference the first week in July could possibly have left the Hamilton, N. Y., campus in anything but an apprehensive mood. With scarcely a dissenting voice, speakers from both major political parties expressed grave fears over the course of the Cold War. They were unanimous in believing that the American public did not appreciate the

danger of the present crisis. They were also persuaded that to insure victory we would have to put forth a bigger effort, in the economic as well as the military sphere, than we are making at the present time.

For all its basic unanimity, the meeting was not devoid, of course, of partisan political clashes. Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, roundly condemned the Administration for failing to recognize the growth in Soviet power, and for subordinating the Cold War to a balanced budget. He called for an immediate boost of \$7.5 billion in defense spending. Although Sen. Kenneth R. Keating of New York rejected Mr. Acheson's criticism as "highly partisan," it was notable that he also stressed the extreme gravity of recent developments. "It is vital," he told the audience, "that we recognize the massiveness of the present Communist offensive."

It is a pity that the transcript of the Colgate conference cannot be made available to a wider audience. So far as we can see, the American people are not greatly concerned over the Berlin crisis, or over anything else. They could stand a big dose of the realism that Senator Keating, Mr. Acheson and other speakers provided.

How to Win African Friends

In his African affairs these days Uncle Sam has need of all the patience he can muster. When he spreads the red carpet for native leaders visiting this country, white elements back in East Africa or South Africa are incensed. If he lets slip a word of praise for nationalist movements, colonial offices in Europe steam. When he speaks loftily about "the battle for men's minds," he is blamed for ignoring economic needs.

Of late almost any friendly gesture toward African countries has become suspect. A recent editorial in the *Mombasa Times* peevishly said:

People of all races with great experience of Africa will watch with somewhat cynical eyes American attempts to gather for themselves some of the influence they are only too eager to strip from Britain.

While no one expects national policy to be totally disinterested or philanthropic, our bewildered Uncle might make his own this thought of Sen. John F. Kennedy. Speaking some time ago

to the American Society of African Culture, the presidential hopeful urged that U. S. assistance to Africa should not be motivated by fear of Soviet competition. "Let us never," he said, "convince the people of that continent that we are interested in them only as pawns in the Cold War."

The Senator is right. Moreover, we should not be surprised nor disappointed that Africans are more concerned with their own economic and political betterment than with the chit-chat passed at Geneva. Right now the war in Africa is against poverty and human misery, and Africans would gladly welcome us as allies in this struggle.

Diplomats on the Vatican

Whenever the issue of U.S.-Vatican relations arises, everyone seems to have something to say except those who are most professionally concerned, the diplomats themselves. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has overcome this reticence to the extent of getting on paper the opinions of some of our most distinguished former diplomatic officers. Their consensus is that our country can no longer afford to be absent from the important observation post centered in the Vatican.

The verdict of the professionals is not likely to stir the policy makers into immediate action. But the Senate group deserves praise for having contributed to our understanding of a much-neglected area of current foreign-policy problems. Our friends and allies abroad, who realize more than we how fragile is America's position in the East-West duel, are amazed that the United States does not even seem to be aware of this gaping hole in its foreign-policy defenses.

Plans for Religious TV

Planners and directors of TV programs by the nation's three major religious faiths met recently with Edward Stanley, NBC's director of public affairs, to look into the future and map plans for an even brighter picture. Mr. Stanley gives high praise to religious TV programming: "Our network partnership with the faiths has resulted in more experimental and pioneering programs of a high order than any other place in television." The key people present

agreed with Mr. Stanley that the faiths "are moving ahead with genuine creativeness."

How the Catholic sector of religious TV is moving ahead was revealed by Martin H. Work, executive director of the NCCM, which produces The Catholic Hour. Here are some of the planned programs: four or five shows designed

as an introduction to the Bible; a series of Catholic approaches to art, architecture and music; a filmed biography of Thomas Merton, based on his famous *The Seven Storey Mountain*; a feature filmed in Africa to show what is happening to the Church there. Mr. Work tellingly remarked that "one of the answers to the criticism of the

'mediocrity' of TV can be found in the type of programing going on by NBC and the religious faith groups."

But all the excellent programing in the world will not mean much unless such shows as The Catholic Hour are widely viewed. Give yourself a treat by making The Catholic Hour a regular must in TV viewing this fall.

Soviet Union: The New Look

Russia's clever iconographers have been working overtime lately. The result is a gigantic triptych that was unveiled in New York's Coliseum on June 30. It is called the USSR Exhibition of Achievements in Science, Technology and Culture. No matter that the achievements are not always carefully distinguished from the stuff that dreams are made on—the show is calculated to interpret Russia's New Look to the American public. One dollar and three hours of rambling amid machines, models, placards and products will give you such a tour of the Soviet Union as you couldn't buy in Moscow for a bagful of rubles.

I will not attempt to describe this impressive display of some 10,000 items. The Soviet trade fair is carefully planned and cunningly executed. It has a powerful psychological impact on the spectator, especially if he is ignorant of classic Marxism and the realities of Soviet history. My sole concern here is to show how this exhibit uses the direct pitch and the hidden sell to project a beguiling picture of communism.

The direct pitch weaves together three simple themes: peace, technological prowess and the proletariat. The first of these hits you as soon as you step into the lobby of the Coliseum. Your eyes fasten on a muscular nude who is laboriously beating a sword into a ploughshare. "Peace, it's wonderful," is the glowing thought that lightens your heart as you mount the moving stairway to the main exhibit floors. Riding the escalator is like climbing into a slice of sky that is gleaming with sputniks. Here is a master stroke of propaganda: the peaceful rockets, unquestionable symbols of Russian technical prowess, dominate the whole exhibition and condition the mind to acquiesce in the reality of Soviet supremacy in all the other displays. The third theme engages the eye almost as soon as the rockets do. Under the vaulting segment of Russian sky looms a heroic bronze Worker, the obvious creator of these lush acres of technological magic.

With these three themes variously compounded and endlessly reiterated in photos, placards, production items and artful models, the desired image of the USSR begins to jell. It is the image of a vast society of hardworking people who are marching confidently into an automated future of

goodies and gadgets. They march at a dizzy pace, but they can pause long enough to give you a glimpse of their creative dynamism. They invite you to admire their technology, envy their education, share their love of sports. They will even let you ride in their dreamboats. All they ask of the cold non-Communist world is peace—atoms-for-peace, peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition in creating the earthly paradise. Very disarming indeed! The Soviet Union would like nothing so much as "to build a house by the side of the road and be a friend to Man."

The hidden sell, too, lurks in the Coliseum. All the brassy clangor of classic Communist propaganda is muted or overridden by loud organ tones of sweetness and light. The exhibition reveals none of the gross materialism that is essential to Marxism. The average viewer gets no impression of economic determinism, no theorizing on the bloody class struggle, no hint of the death of God and the martyrdom of His people that are involved in the march of progress. One walks out of the show without any concept of the totalitarian state and its subjugation of human dignity. There are no blaring echoes of the Glorious Leader motet or the sycophantic cult of personality that disgusts the decent human being when he thinks of Soviet politics. In fact, one can leave this gaudy trade show with the impression that communism is nothing more dangerous than an economic and social plan for harnessing heaven, a sort of perennial Brotherhood Week.

Against the backdrop of a happy people preoccupied with the construction of an earthly paradise, the sourness of Gromyko and the harshness of Khrushchev seem unreal. In the Never-Never Land of the Coliseum, aggression and subversion, missiles and militarism are nasty words that have been expunged from the dictionary. Upstage and downstage surge only the Soviet masses which, as Mr. Kozlov told us when he opened this fantastic exhibition, "cannot harbor any evil intentions in regard to other nations."

This disarming and beguiling image of the Soviet Union, calculated to put the viewer off guard, is precisely the impression that the USSR exhibit is meant to stamp on the minds and hearts of the unwary groundlings. L. C. McHUGH

Washington Front

Pre-Election Antics

A YEAR in advance of the Democratic and Republican national conventions, the political situation is confusing to Americans and incomprehensible to most foreigners. So far there is not one out-and-out, avowed candidate for the office of President in either of the two great parties, despite all the talk about the race and the battle.

What are they, then—these Democratic Senators who travel about the country making speeches and pumping all hands in sight? Why, they are "Presidential hopefuls" or "Presidential possibilities." The same goes for Vice President Richard M. Nixon, who wouldn't want anybody to think he has crass political ambitions while engaged in such serious governmental business as flying to Moscow.

Foreigners here in Washington—diplomats and some of the newer correspondents—are a little puzzled by all this. But they are completely thrown by some other aspects of the 1960 political picture.

For example:

Adlai E. Stevenson, who was nominated for President by the Democrats in 1952 and 1956, and defeated both times, says now that he is not a candidate for the nomination next year. He goes even further and says: "I will not be nominated."

Yet Adlai is a red-hot possibility in '60; some well-posted Democratic pros say that the delegates in Los Angeles next year may very well give him a third nomination, especially if the Senators get into a deadlock.

But why? That is the question asked by foreigners. Why should former Governor Stevenson be considered when he says he is not a candidate and won't be nominated? Why not take him at his word?

Because Adlai hasn't said—and isn't expected to say—that he would turn down the nomination, that's why. He has not emulated Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman ("If nominated, I will not accept; if elected, I will not serve"). That's why.

"The Republicans," a foreigner will ask, "they will pick Neexon, yes?"

Well, that's the way it looks now. Vice President Nixon is a top-heavy favorite with the Republican professionals who are expected to dominate the G.O.P. convention in Chicago next year.

Ah, but the Democratic professionals also want Nixon. They don't underestimate the Californian, but they say that he would be "easier to beat" than Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York. They say it privately and publicly; they really mean it; they are afraid that Rockefeller might have that thing politicians call "magic."

Question: Will the Republicans oblige the Democrats by nominating the man that the Democrats say they hope the Republicans will nominate [Nixon]?

EDWARD T. FOLLIARD

On All Horizons

"THE THIRD HOUR." In 1946, under the stimulus of a zealous person of Russian background, a group of Catholics, Russian Orthodox, Anglicans and Protestants pledged themselves to promote a sincere and informal exchange of ideas. Thus was born *The Third Hour* (Acts 2:1-17). Advance subscriptions for the 1959 issue (\$1.75) should be sent to the Third Hour Foundation, P. O. Box 6, New York 21, N. Y.

►INQUIRY CENTER. William Cardinal Godfrey has invited the Franciscans of the Atonement (Graymoor, Garrison, N. Y.) to assume charge of the Catholic Central Library in London.

►COURRIER DE GENEVE. Cardinal Mermillod, Bishop of Geneva, more widely known perhaps for having prepared the ground for *Rerum Novarum*, was exiled from his see by anticlericals

in 1873. Associated with him in his struggle for the Church was the Catholic journal, *Le Courier de Genève*. Now in its 92nd year, the daily newspaper recently moved into modern, enlarged quarters. We congratulate the 100,000 faithful of the Swiss city for so long sustaining this indispensable weapon for truth.

►BOSTON'S SUMMER CLIMAX. Internationally known authorities, some of them fresh from the World Congress of Sodalties, will treat of spiritual perfection and zeal for souls at the Boston Convention of the Lay Apostolate, Aug. 31 to Sept. 5. Further information from the New England Sodality Secretariat, 761 Harrison Ave., Boston 18, Mass.

►THEOLOGIAN ON WAR. A church-related organization created to study the impact of ethics on foreign

affairs has published *Morality and Modern War*, a paper originally delivered by John Courtney Murray, S.J., at last October's meeting of the Catholic Assn. for International Peace. Copies are obtainable from the Church Peace Union, 170 East 64th St., New York 21, N. Y. (25¢ per copy).

►IRISH CHURCH ART. Has Ireland erred on the side of conservatism in religious art? Maybe so, in the past, but an exhibition of Irish ecclesiastical art and religious goods currently (July and Aug.) shown in New York City at the Irish Products Center, 33 East 50th St., reflects a powerful trend today toward the excitingly modern, particularly in sculpture and stained glass.

►CLA HEAD. Bro. Arthur L. Goerd, S.M., is the new president of the Catholic Library Assn. He is librarian of the Scholasticate at St. Mary's University, San Antonio, Tex. The CLA publishes the *Catholic Library World* and the *Catholic Periodical Index*. R.A.G.

Editorials

The Encyclical of Pope John XXIII

IN THEIR coverage of the first encyclical of Pope John XXIII, *Ad Petri Cathedram*, the daily newspapers naturally—and rightly—highlighted his warnings on the fragility of our present peace and the grim consequences of the failure of statesmen. His words in this connection were not new or original, but coming as the Geneva talks are about to resume, and appearing in the solemn document that opens a new pontificate, they have a significance that world opinion has been quick to grasp.

The encyclical treats of other things than war and peace, however. We find in this lengthy document added evidence of the warmly human personality of the new successor to the Chair of Peter. The papal message is divided in its major portions under the general headings of Truth, Peace and the Unity of the Church. It concludes with express greetings and encouragement to the various elements that make up the Church—the bishops, the priests, the religious and the laity. The Pope greeted those engaged in the lay apostolate with particular affection and it is noteworthy that he promised them he would have even more to say in the near future about their work. "We regard the matter as of the highest moment," he remarked. It was characteristic, too, of the very sympathetic spirit of the Holy Father that he did not fail to show his solicitude for those afflicted in soul or body, for refugees and emigrants far from their native lands and their loved ones, and last but not least for those who suffer persecution for justice's sake.

In asking for prayers for the success of the coming ecumenical council the Holy Father made a rare—and perhaps unprecedented—indirect allusion to the work of the World Council of Churches. The future of the

council depends, said the Pope, "more on all vying with each other in the ardor of their united prayers, than on human effort, industry and diligence." The Pope went on: "To take part in this prayerful appeal to God, We invite most lovingly those also who, though they are not of this fold, yet reverently worship God and with good will strive to keep His commandments."

The Holy Father's gracious and significant allusion to Cardinal Newman, though brief, should not be lost on the English-speaking world, Catholic or non-Catholic. Newman noted, as the Pope said, that controversies among Catholic theologians greatly help to a deeper and better understanding of dogma, provided the debates do not tear asunder the unity of the Church. This implicit tribute to the English Cardinal, who himself probed difficult theological terrain and was rendered suspect for his efforts, is of particular importance on the eve of the council.

That council, however, may prove more pastoral in scope than strictly doctrinal. It will chiefly concern, said the Pope, the "growth" of the Church, the "renewal" of Christian life and the "adaptation of ecclesiastical discipline" to today's conditions.

In the coming months, as the new pontificate unfolds, the general themes of this introductory encyclical will take on more precise delineation. It would be wrong to try to find here, as some have expected, a sort of "statement of policy." We know enough, from this first official document, however, to conclude that, with the advent of the peasant son of Bergamo to the role of Vicar of Christ, Providence seems to have sent one who symbolizes what the peoples of the world stand most in need of after two World Wars—one who represents love and affection and humanity itself.

Public Morals and the Constitution

A DECISION like that of the Supreme Court on the film version of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* inevitably causes controversy. The immediate issue in the case was a narrow point of constitutional law. But there are far-reaching implications in the decision.

The case concerned a New York State film-licensing law. This statute forbids the exhibition of any motion picture which represents acts of sexual immorality (in this case, adultery) as "desirable, acceptable or proper behavior."

The majority of the Supreme Court found this law unconstitutional as conflicting with the Fourteenth Amendment. But more significant was the agreement of all nine Justices on the meaning of the "liberty" protected by the Amendment. Any person, they de-

clared, has the right to advocate ideas, even false and immoral ones, unless and until the ideas become incitements to illegal action.

This rule of constitutional law means, in the present case, that adultery may be alluringly presented as proper behavior. But of course the rule means much more. It would also protect a motion picture portraying Negroes as degraded beings not fit to associate with white men. Or presenting Jews as debased types who brought the Hitler persecution on themselves. Or suggesting that the use of narcotic drugs makes life a mad, gay affair free from care. All these hypothetical films "advocate ideas." A clever producer could easily keep them from being, in the legal sense, "incitements to action."

The Supreme Court is understandably concerned to keep government from regulating people's beliefs and the free expression thereof. Yet we question the wisdom and the necessity of the court's decision in this case. For one thing, the court was not really obliged to find the New York film-licensing law unconstitutional. The decision rested on principles of constitutional law which are not found in the text of the Constitution. These principles have been developed by court interpretation. The court has it in its power, therefore, to control both the principles and their application to particular cases.

The court could, if it chose, find a meaning of "liberty" which would leave a State more discretion in protecting public morality, especially in the field of mass communications. It is not realistic to regard motion pictures and similar media simply as channels of "ideas." The screen appeals to the senses, the imagination and the emotions more than to the intellect. It shapes attitudes through the graphic representation of persons and actions rather than by reasoned argu-

ment. A motion picture can thus affect the tastes and moral beliefs of a cross section of the entire population. These are facts of social life in mid-century America. In this situation is it true that a State has no legitimate interest in films which undermine the community's morals?

Or doesn't the community have a code of morals? Certainly our forefathers thought there was such a code. We find it reflected in the laws of every State. It is certain, too, that our public morality was derived from the Judeo-Christian tradition. However, as our public life is increasingly secularized, our laws on morals will become the subject of more and more controversy. Not only will the legal safeguards of the sanctity of marriage be attacked. The sanctity of human life itself will be called into question by demands for the legalization of abortion and euthanasia. When that day comes, it is possible that the Supreme Court will reflect that even a free society may have more vital interests than freedom to make immorality attractive in technicolor.

Freedom—A Fate Worse Than Communism?

KARL BARTH, who is often cited as Europe's greatest Protestant theologian, caused dismay among German Christians when his *Letter to a Pastor in the German Democratic Republic* was published last November. The famous Swiss Reformed theologian answered the question whether it would be permissible for Christians in East Germany to "pray away" their Communist Government. His reply, which caused comment far beyond the borders of Germany, ran as follows:

Aren't you afraid that the prayer might be awfully answered, so that some morning you would wake up among those "Egyptian fleshpots" as one obligated to the "American way of life"?

What bothered Dr. Barth, as he explained in the body of the letter, was that the message of Christ is "just as embarrassing to the West as to the East, perhaps even more so."

In the East, Dr. Barth admitted, there is "open" totalitarianism, but in the West, he declared, there is "creeping" totalitarianism; in the East there is "an omnipotent party, propaganda and police," but in the West there is "an equally omnipotent press and system of private enterprise, pretentiousness and public opinion." According to Karl Barth, the Western way of freedom might be a fate worse than communism.

The problem, as Dr. Barth puts it, is how to combat the forced "domestication" that threatens men in the East and in the West, how to stand up against the "unending pressures toward voluntary conformity" without falling into "mere obstinacy and fruitless opposition." His own solution, that the Church of God should be above all political and partisan things just as God is above all things, leaves much to be desired. The Church, of course, must refuse to be an instrument of any political party or earthly power. But, like a grain of seed or leaven in flour, she is involved in what sur-

rounds her and she thrives best where the life of the sacraments freely flows, so that Christ acts in and through her for the salvation of the world.

One wonders if Dr. Charles Malik had Karl Barth's letter in mind when he spoke at the dinner at which Robert D. Murphy, Deputy Under Secretary of State, received the Laetare Medal. At any rate, the President of the UN General Assembly put his finger on the very core of Dr. Barth's problems when he told his audience in Washington, D. C., on June 1 that, so far as the Western world is concerned, "the deepest thing at stake is its faith in its values and its ability to justify and defend them."

The highly respected Lebanese statesman named the values that are at stake today: free representative government, the primacy of the human person, the moral law, the continuity of history, freedom, truth and God. "They are all rejected and opposed from without," he added, "and some of them are doubted or compromised from within." What is needed now, he said, is a mighty spiritual revival among individuals and whole institutions, "not only of the leaders, but of the grass roots."

We wish Dr. Barth could have been present to hear the words that followed:

I am persuaded that there are virtually infinite possibilities, both material and moral, wherewith to vindicate freedom against unfreedom, joy of living against tyranny, man against all that is subhuman and inhuman, truth against darkness and falsehood and God against the devil and his works. The only question is whether the realm of freedom will prove worthy of its possibilities.

So long as men keep clear the vital distinction between freedom and the lack of it, we need not question our fundamental ability to retain faith in our values nor our power to vindicate them.

Geneva: Score at Half-Time

David Martin

ON JUNE 20, after six weeks of futile and exasperating discussions at Geneva, the Big Four Foreign Ministers announced that they had agreed to recess until July 13.

In the Western capitals, Khrushchev's obdurate and threatening attitude resulted in open apprehension that the Kremlin's goal was not a compromise agreement with the West but a complete takeover in Berlin. This point was made by Secretary of State Christian Herter in his broadcast to the nation on June 23.

Some commentaries on the conference had the gloom of doomsday. A prominent West German diplomat, for example, told the New York *Herald Tribune* that the West had made many concessions, that he feared it would be induced to make even further concessions, that the result could be the destruction of morale in West Berlin and the eventual loss of the city. Another diplomat was quoted as saying: "There is a smell of Munich in the air."

Other analysts greeted the outcome of the conference as a limited victory for the West. On the plus side, they could list these facts:

1. While Khrushchev had not abandoned his ultimatum, he had dropped his original deadline of May 27. He had backed down further in suggesting, first, a deadline dated one year from the Geneva Conference—and then an 18-month deadline.

2. The Western Big Three had stood united and firm on the basic issues of their continued presence in Berlin and free access through the Berlin corridor. The concessions that had been offered were of minor importance; infinitely more important was the basic unity which these concessions helped make possible.

3. Western reasonableness at the conference combined with Soviet unreasonableness had partly deflated the sails of the summit enthusiasts in Europe—in Britain in particular—and had made a favorable impression on the uncommitted nations.

4. Secretary of State Herter succeeded in establishing himself in the eyes of most Europeans as a worthy successor of John Foster Dulles. *Paris-Presse*, for example, said that his courteous manner and his capacity for firmness were largely responsible for "the reconstruction of the common front of the Western powers." Prior to the Geneva conference there had been serious reason to believe that the British position was weak-

ening under internal political pressures. But despite the numerous predictions to the contrary, Britain stood shoulder to shoulder with its allies at Geneva. Indeed, Foreign Minister Selwyn Lloyd was in some instances the most effective of the Western spokesmen. This display of unity was, in the words of *Paris-Presse*, "a capital accomplishment for the West."

All of these things are true. But in evaluating the net results of the Geneva conference, what we have gained must be weighed in the balance not only against what we have given up, but also against the impression we have created in the minds of both our friends and our enemies. The concessions that the West has made are more numerous and more far-reaching than is generally realized. Intrinsically, these concessions are not of catastrophic proportions; but there is a danger of catastrophe if the Kremlin should be encouraged by this series of retreats to misconstrue the basic firmness of the West on the question of Berlin.

In the centuries-old etiquette of traditional diplomacy, whenever one side presents a set of proposals designed to protect its interests, it is customary to indicate a desire for compromise by making concessions on several points to the known views of the other side. It was almost certainly in this spirit that the West approached the Geneva conference. But Soviet diplomacy adheres to no such etiquette. Gromyko came to the conference table at Geneva preceded by threats and ultimata, his portfolio full of demands but empty of concessions. Instead of serving as an encouragement to counterconcessions from the Soviet Union, each concession that the West has made when confronted with Soviet intransigence has only served as an encouragement to further intransigence.

True, no agreement has been signed. Berlin has not been surrendered. There has been no Munich—and, what is more, there will be no Munich. But it can be taken for granted that Gromyko has noted and remembered every concession, large or small, which the West offered to make or even hinted at during the first session of the Geneva conference, and that we will not be permitted to back away from any of these concessions in future negotiation.

It is generally known that the West presented four successive proposals, each one weaker than the one that preceded it. But it is questionable whether, under the pressure of negotiations, the Western diplomats have had the time to take the total and weigh the consequences of the many concessions on detail that they have made or have indicated a willingness to make

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in an effort to arrive at an understanding with the Soviets.

1. *Negotiations Under Ultimatum.* First, and most important, there is the inescapable fact that the West has negotiated under ultimatum, despite the repeated protestations that we would refuse to do so. Instead of insisting on a formal retraction of the Soviet ultimatum before agreeing to the Foreign Ministers' conference (a suggestion, incidentally, that was made by President de Gaulle), the West circumvented the issue with their declaration of December 31, 1958, in which they "assumed" that Khrushchev's November 27 statement was not intended as an ultimatum. The West has persisted in this assumption in the face of repeated statements by Prime Minister Khrushchev—the last one made on June 19, the day before the Geneva Conference adjourned—reaffirming the position he had taken in his note of November 27. (The May 27 deadline was abandoned, but the ultimatum *per se* was not.)

2. *The Captive Nations—Concession by Omission.* In the opening discussions at Geneva the most significant weakness of the Western position was its failure to place the captive nations on the agenda and to insist, even at this late date, that the Soviets respect their repeated guarantees of human rights and free elections in these areas. No doubt Khrushchev would have fumed and raged if we had made this demand. But how strange that this should be considered excessive when it simply involves the affirmation of solemn covenants and of everything that is politically moral, while on the other hand it is apparently considered entirely proper to discuss new Soviet demands whose acceptance would involve a further retreat from moral principles, a further abandonment of the peoples of Europe, a further weakening of our own position.

3. *The Seating of the East German Delegation.* Concession number three, which was really made before the conference opened, was the Western agreement to seat the East German puppets at the conference with the same status as the representatives of the German Federal Republic. Some agreement providing for consultation with the East Germans was probably unavoidable. But there is no escaping the fact that the Kremlin has registered an important advance in its unremitting campaign to achieve international standing and political stability for its quisling Government in Berlin. The Soviet-East German communiqué of June 20 said boastfully that East German participation in the conference "conduces to the consolidation of the international prestige of the German Democratic Republic."

4. *The Package Plan.* The Western package plan presented at the opening session of the Geneva Conference was, by the nature of things, a compromise between differing viewpoints within the Western Alliance. In the light of the pressures that were brought to bear for "flexibility" and "moderation," the plan was considerably better than might have been expected; indeed, it did a masterly job of reconciling the differing Western approaches on the one hand, while maintaining a basically firm position on the other.

The proposal called for the reunification of Germany, disengagement of forces, limited disarmament, and the conclusion of a European security pact. It adhered to previous Western declarations of policy in combining the issue of Berlin with that of Germany and in insisting that the people of Berlin and Germany be permitted to decide their futures in free elections. Taken as a package, the plan was almost certainly unacceptable to the Soviets, since any free ballot would inevitably result in the reunification of Germany under a democratic pro-Western Government, would deprive the Soviet Union of the chemical and industrial strength of East Germany and would jeopardize Moscow's control over all the satellite countries. But then our problem is not to devise formulae that the Soviets will like, but ones which are just and which clearly protect the interests of the free world.

The package plan was drafted in a manner which made concessions to the Soviet viewpoint on ostensibly minor issues to offset Western insistence on the basic issues of free elections and the reunification of Germany. So long as the West insisted that the issue of Berlin could not be dissociated from the reunification of Germany, there was nothing to worry about. Unfortunately, it was intimated by the Western press almost from the outset (possibly with some encouragement from the British delegation) that the West would be willing to unpack the package if the Soviets remained adamant.

These press accounts were denied by the Western delegations. But in the closing days of May the West suspended its efforts to obtain an agreement based on the package plan and submitted proposals for an interim agreement on Berlin. Once the package was broken up in this way, it was inevitable—despite the Western stipulation that the breakup was only an interim arrangement for purposes of discussion—that every concession on detail would be construed by the Soviets as the starting point for the unpackaged discussion of the specific question at issue. In such a discussion, each clause must be able to stand on its own legs. Quite a few of the clauses in the package plan do not.

As the *Christian Science Monitor* observed, Gromyko proceeded to pick out of the package plan those concessions he found palatable. Not very surprisingly, he showed strongest interest in the Western proposal for the establishment of a mixed committee to supervise the process of reunification. On the basis of postwar experience in Poland, Yugoslavia, China and other countries, the West has ample reason to question the workability of joint committees and coalitions between Communists and anti-Communists. This, therefore, represented an important concession to the Soviet viewpoint, which has always held that the reunification of Germany would have to be worked out between the Governments of East and West Germany. It is true that the plan limits East German representation on the committee to 10 as against 25 for West Germany. But the very next paragraph gives the East Germans a tentative power of veto by requiring approval by a three-fourths majority. (Continued on p. 532)

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Gromyko apparently also displayed interest in the proposals for the staged reunification of Germany and the section on security which provides for a limited disengagement of forces and for the signing of a European security pact, pursuant to the signing of the German treaty. There were several paragraphs in these sections whose implications are worrisome.

5. *The "Fall Back" Through Four Proposals.* Mr. Gromyko categorically rejected the Western package and presented a Soviet counterproposal which called for the conclusion of peace treaties with the two Germanies and left reunification to future negotiations between the East and West German Governments. This was rejected by the West. Toward the end of May the West abandoned its first position and fell back on position number two, a suggestion calling for the reunification of East and West Berlin through free elections pending an agreement on the reunification of Germany.

When proposal number two was turned down, they tried out proposal number three. The chief features of this position were:

1. Pending reunification of Germany the Soviets would agree to recognize the West's right to maintain forces in Berlin under the occupation statute and to make no unilateral move.

2. The Soviets would also guarantee free movement of civilian and military traffic through the Berlin corridor.

3. The West would agree to a ceiling on its forces in West Berlin. (It was not made quite clear whether this ceiling would be pegged at the present garrison strength of 10,000 or whether the West would accept a token reduction. Unconfirmed reports, however, mentioned the possibility of a reduction from 10,000 to 8,000 as an earnest of good will on the part of the West.)

4. Both sides would reduce inflammatory propaganda and subversive activities based on their territory.

5. A special watchdog committee would be set up to supervise the implementation of the agreement, with representatives for the Four Powers and of the municipal governments of East and West Berlin.

Gromyko greeted this conciliatory proposal with contempt. On the following day (June 9) he presented the Soviet counterproposal, whose main points were as follows:

1. The Western garrisons would be permitted to remain in West Berlin for one year, pending abolition of the West Berlin "Occupation Regime."

2. The Western powers would reduce their garrison to "symbolic contingents," ban anti-Communist propaganda, agree not to establish atomic or rocket installations in West Berlin.

3. An East-West German committee would be established during the one-year period to develop contacts between the two states and prepare the way for reunification.

The West rejected Mr. Gromyko's proposal with reciprocal contempt, and pointed out that basically it constituted a renewal of the ultimatum, with a new deadline. For another week the discussions remained deadlocked. Finally on June 16 the Western powers presented

their fourth proposal to the Soviet Union. This was identical to the West's proposal of June 8, with one important exception. It made no reference to the legal right of Western troops to be in Berlin. Instead, it simply asked for a guarantee of access for civilian and military traffic.

On June 19, after consulting with Moscow, Mr. Gromyko informed the Western Foreign Ministers that their proposal was unacceptable, that it still "smelled of the occupation statute," but that Moscow was willing to extend the time limit for the evacuation of Western troops from Berlin from one year to eighteen months. The Western ministers rejected this final proposal pointing out that "... the Western powers, upon signing such an agreement, would acquiesce in the liquidation of their responsibility for maintaining the freedom of the people of West Berlin." At this point the West proposed that the conference be recessed until July 13.

6. *The Omission of the Occupation Statute.* Unquestionably the most serious of all the concessions contained in the several allied proposals was the calculated omission in proposal number four of the West's legal rights in Berlin under the occupation statute. The Western press reported that some allied diplomats did not conceal their fear over this concession. According to the *New York Times*, however, the Western legal advisers took the position that an assurance of Western rights in Berlin would flow, by implication, from the right of access.

But it would be difficult to conceive of a more perilous experiment in diplomatic phraseology. The West's right to be in Berlin derives from the occupation statute and from its reaffirmation in the agreement that followed the Berlin blockade. Once we admit that the occupation statute is no longer valid, our presence in Berlin automatically is without legal foundation. If our rights under the occupation statute have now become such tenuous and uncertain things that we no longer dare mention them in our diplomatic proposals, what possible reason is there to believe that the Soviets will continue to respect these unmentionable rights or will accept the word of the Western legal experts that the West's right of presence in Berlin flows, "by implication," from a simple agreement on right of access?

7. *The Implications of an Interim Agreement.* There is another, almost equally serious aspect to proposal number four. As an "interim agreement" on Berlin, it would in effect concede to the Soviets the right of unilaterally abrogating the existing agreement. This, of course, would render future agreements meaningless from the outset. An "interim agreement" could avoid this concession only if it met two conditions: first, it would have to reaffirm the validity of the occupation statute and be drawn up as a derivative of this statute; second, it would have to specify that the "interim" period would terminate only with the signing of a peace treaty and the reunification of Germany. Proposals number two and three met these conditions; proposal number four did not.

8. *The Curb on Propaganda and Political Activities.* Although the proposal to limit propaganda and political

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activities was supposed to be reciprocal, in implementation this reciprocity would soon reveal itself to be a fraud. The West would be called upon to make surrenders a thousand times more important than those which the Communists had to make. Because of its strategic position and symbolic importance, West Berlin is the most effective platform the Nato countries possess for their propaganda to the Soviet sphere. Its loss or paralysis as a propaganda base would have a serious effect on our ability to wage the Cold War effectively. To the Soviet propaganda apparatus, on the other hand, East Berlin is of only incidental importance since it operates from a multitude of positions on both sides of the Iron Curtain. Moreover, if the West agreed to clamp down on militant anti-Communist organizations like the Free Jurists Association, this agreement would be honored. On the Communist side, however, such an agreement would probably mean about as much as the ballyhooed dissolution of the Comintern in 1943.

9. *Reduction of Berlin Garrison and Nuclear Missile Ban.* The proposal that nuclear arms and missiles be banned from Berlin represents no substantive concession, since the West never had an intention of stationing them there. However, the West Berliners would understandably be alarmed if the allied garrison were cut back below its present 10,000 level. It would be construed as an evidence of Soviet ability to make the West dance to its tune if the Big Three agreed to even a token reduction of their already token garrison. Indeed, this can be the only purpose of the Soviets in insisting on a troop reduction that, militarily, is of zero significance.

10. *The Summit Conference.* Both President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Herter have stated repeatedly that a summit meeting will take place only if there is serious evidence of progress at the Foreign Ministers level. However, despite some fluctuations of attitude, the British in recent weeks have let it be known that they consider a summit meeting essential no matter what the outcome of the Geneva conference. The argument has been heard in Congress, too, that failure at Geneva would make a summit conference more imperative than ever. In consequence of these pressures, there has been a perceptible weakening of the West's position. Almost all Washington and Geneva commentators are now agreed, for example, that a temporary withdrawal of the Soviet threat to Berlin would by itself be considered sufficient "progress" to warrant a summit conference. Such a definition of "progress" is questionable, to say the least. We are in Berlin by right of agreement. If the Russians tell us to get out and then withdraw their demand, this is hardly a concession.

Before we went to Geneva it was generally accepted that Khrushchev was afflicted with a *nouveau riche* psychology, that he had his heart set on a summit meeting and that he would be prepared to offer something in return for such a meeting. But having reduced its asking price to the point of simply requesting a retraction of the Soviet ultimatum, the West now finds that Khrushchev is still not eager to buy. On the basis of the record at Geneva, Khrushchev seems to believe that he can have his cake and eat it—that he can obtain a summit

conference without making any concession. In view of the stand the British have taken, he may very well be right in this.

11. *The Revision of Our Contingency Plan.* In the early days of the Berlin crisis we let it be known that if the Berlin blockade were reinstated we were prepared to challenge it by sending through a convoy under tank escort. Statements to this effect were made over and over again. Within recent weeks, however, the news has been leaked that the matter of a tank column has been reconsidered, and that, if there were to be a blockade, the West would devise other methods of coping with it.

In the light of this record of concessions, it is not surprising that Moscow Radio on June 20 praised the "progress" made at Geneva and mentioned as evidence of this the seating of the East German delegation, the agreement on the need for East-West German committees, the proposal for limiting propaganda and subversive activities, the allied offer not to introduce missiles and nuclear weapons into Berlin, etc.

The concessions we have tabulated above are, in themselves, of secondary importance. The great danger is that the Kremlin will construe these concessions as a basic weakness in the Western attitude and will play the game of "chicken" even more brutally than it has in the past. This was precisely the kind of danger that General Norstad warned against on June 6, when he told the Atlantic Congress that the Soviet probing might get out of control and result in "war by miscalculation."

Perhaps we should recall to Khrushchev's attention that Adolf Hitler was also once convinced that the Western democracies were decadent and spineless. Perhaps someone should explain to him that these concessions have not been made out of a sense of weakness, but largely because of the conviction that, as President Eisenhower has put it, the West must show the world that it is willing "to go the extra mile" to preserve peace; that Eisenhower is a man who means it when he sets his jaw, and he has committed himself so categorically to the defense of freedom in West Berlin that a retreat from this position is organically inconceivable. Perhaps we should also remind him of the unequivocal statements made by the leaders of both parties in Congress and of the Gallup Poll of March, 1959, according to which 81 per cent of the American people took the stand that the West should remain in Berlin even if it meant war.

Confronted with a demonstration of resoluteness, there is reason to believe that the Kremlin will back down from Khrushchev's oft-repeated ultimatum. Such a backdown would in itself constitute a major diplomatic triumph for the West. To use a military analogy, it would signify that the Kremlin's offensive had been successfully contained, that it had exhausted itself far short of its objectives. This would enable the West to renew negotiations from a position of relative strength. The moment would then be propitious for the launching of a diplomatic counteroffensive in which the West would make the liberation of the captive peoples of Europe its ultimate objective.

Soft Sell at Vienna

William F. Sturmer

INTERNATIONAL communism will bid for the sympathy and support of the world's youth this summer with its highest-ranking propaganda gimmick—"The World Youth Festival." The seventh in a series of biennial youth rallies, this carnival-like program is to be staged in Vienna from July 26 to August 4 and is expected to attract over 20,000 student delegates from all over the globe.

If this latest propaganda showpiece inherits the goals and techniques of the previous six Communist festivals, Soviet deception will cleverly weave the subtle soft sell and the harsher political indoctrination into a carefully planned political circus that will offer the delegates everything from speeches and seminars to concerts and athletic events.

The covert but well-known purpose of the festivals has been to popularize Soviet views on international issues, to condemn Western policies and society, to instill confidence and loyalty into Soviet and satellite youth and to draw more young people into the international Communist movement by encouraging them to enroll in Communist-front organizations.

To achieve these objectives, the controlling Communist-front agencies—the International Union of Students (IUS) and the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY)—have employed two propaganda techniques.

1. From the end of World War II, when IUS, WFDY and their festivals were organized, until Stalin's death in 1953, the festivals reflected the aggressive policy pursued by the Soviet Union. At the first Youth Festival in Prague (1947), the second in Budapest (1949) and the third in East Berlin (1951), the Western warmongers were violently condemned; non-Communist leaders of Africa and Asian nationalism were labeled "bourgeois imperialist lackeys"; Yugoslav delegates were welcomed and then expelled; and "U. S. aggression and germ warfare in Korea" were repeatedly denounced.

2. Soviet tactics mellowed, however, with the death of Stalin, and the techniques employed at the festivals were revamped to conform with new strategy. Attacks on the West at the festivals in Bucharest (1953), Warsaw (1955) and Moscow (1957) became less aggressive and more subtle. Cheering crowds with flowers and gifts greeted the Moscow delegations—a far cry from the tense and angry atmosphere pervading the first three festivals. The peaceful coexistence theme praised Asian and African national movements instead of boy-

cotting and condemning them, and the anti-West pitch was dropped in favor of pro-peace resolutions. The Vienna Festival this summer will undoubtedly continue this soft-sell approach—with occasional blunt denunciation when it is expedient.

SUBTLE PROPAGANDA

The soft sell begins even before the delegates arrive. Pre-festival literature attracts students to a gathering dedicated to "promoting genuine international understanding" conducted "on a nonpartisan basis." Curious, unsophisticated or militant-Communist students thus attend the festival with the impression that they are furthering peace and making friends in foreign lands.

Upon arrival at the festival the delegates are the targets of "bandwagon" and "belongingness" psychology. Monster cultural performances and games bring them together. Colorful folk dances, concerts and sports events witnessed by cheering crowds and the general scramble of thousands of students from many foreign countries—all these fun-orientated gimmicks put the delegates in a gullible frame of mind. Serious questions are passed over in favor of meetings on fishing, model airplane building, education and philately. Such sessions ignore the political issues and encourage the students to think of relations among countries on the same level as the personal friendships they form with their fellow fishermen, hobbyists, teachers and stamp collectors.

These meetings are supplemented with mass rallies for the emotion-filled and unquestionably virtuous themes of peace, friendship, anticolonialism and disarmament. Mass spectacles such as "Hiroshima Day" and "Anticolonialism Day" staged at the Moscow Festival in 1957 illustrate the soft sell approach to propaganda—entertaining and seemingly harmless, but loaded with persuasive political overtones.

The "sell" is all-encompassing. One of the most spectacular displays at the Moscow Festival was a giant magic carpet suspended 30 feet above one of the city's largest squares. On the carpet were three model children arm in arm: a Negro child, a Caucasian and a child of the yellow race. At the Bucharest Festival in 1953 the drab buildings were scrubbed and painted; stadiums and theatres were erected; an artificial lake was built. The citizens were instructed to wear their best clothing. Even most of the Soviet troops were moved out of the city.

Warsaw shops in 1955 displayed food and consumer goods rarely seen before. Cultural exhibitions and

MR. STURMER has been for the past year research assistant to the editor of the Washington Post.

awards were limited to issues particularly valuable to the Communist organizers. An Italian received first prize in the fine arts division for his painting entitled "The Mutilated Peasant." Japanese film entries included *The Young Japanese Fisherman—First Victim of the H-Bomb* and *Children of Hiroshima*. The art exhibition offered "The Activities of the IUS" and "Ten Years of WFDY."

But the hard-sell method is not neglected, either. Placards condemning warmongers and imperialists are strung about. Western policies and society are often condemned in street corner speeches and dining room bull sessions. Seminars are stuffed with party-line "ringers"—astute dialecticians who wage verbal warfare in order to silence provocative questioners who would endanger the complacent, sheepish, "me-too" attitude fostered by the festive spirit.

The effectiveness of these propaganda techniques is evident when the specific target groups are analyzed.

1. The biggest play is made for the uncommitted delegations from the underdeveloped areas of Latin America, Africa and Asia. Although the total participation at the Vienna Festival will be only half as much as at the Moscow Festival (17,000 to 20,000 as compared with 35,000) the planning committee has doubled the quota from the underdeveloped areas. This year it stands at 3,700 (2,000 went to Moscow).

2. Promoting the solidarity and dedication among the youth from within the Soviet bloc is a second major aim of the festival. A feeling of the inevitability and universality of communism is instilled in the Communist students by the world-wide representation at the festival and by the controlled but comparatively free contact with Communists and politically naive and disillusioned students from other parts of the world. While representation of the underdeveloped areas is being sharply increased, the delegations from the Communist countries have been considerably cut. (Smaller and more militant delegations are less likely to be converted to Western decadence.) The Soviet Union, for example, which had thousands of its own delegates at the Moscow Festival will send only 800 to Vienna and Communist China will send only 600.

3. The third group, the students from the Western countries, are invited in order to demonstrate to the world that all youth—even those from the warmonger West—are unified under the Communist pledge of peace. This group is a bit harder to handle and indoctrinate, but since the majority of Western delegates are either Communist sympathizers or "intellectual" youngsters, the display and gaiety can usually hypnotize at least a portion of the delegates and enlist them in the cause.

THE COUNTEROFFENSIVE

Two new factors, however, which were not operative during the past six festivals, may offset the efficacy of the soft sell and change the complexion of the Vienna affair. One is an organization and the other a free city.

The organization is the "Independent Service for Information on the Vienna Youth Festival," which has

headquarters in the College House on Harvard Square in Cambridge, Mass. It was established by a group of American graduate students who have had considerable experience in international student affairs. As they see it, their function is to publicize the fact that the Vienna Festival is an instrument of Communist propaganda and that it thereby offers the free world a challenge and an opportunity for providing an honest picture of our society and for rebutting Communist distortions.

In line with the policy of the State Department and of major youth organizations in the free world, this group refuses to lend support to the festival by encouraging official American representation. It is, however, urging informed, intelligent and articulate young Americans to go to Vienna in a *non-representative* capacity and work to offset the propaganda techniques of the Reds.

Similar organizations have been formed in most European countries. They publish pamphlets on the Communist nature of the festival and forewarn students not to be duped into attending in a representative capacity or as official delegates. Documented analyses of the various facets of Western policy and society which Communists denounce (segregation, atomic testing, disarmament, capitalism, etc.) are being issued. Typical Communist charges and suggested rebuttals make up a large part of each booklet. The prodding of the "Service" and its European counterparts is expected to encourage thousands of pro-Western students to swarm into Vienna to combat the Communist propaganda offensive.

The other factor which should mitigate the success of the Festival is its very site—a free city in the Western world. All previous festivals (except that of Prague, held in 1947, before the Red take-over) have been conducted in the capitals of Communist countries. The choice of Vienna is, first, an admission of the disruptive influence the festivals have had on the native Communist populations in the past. Second, it reflects the Communist organizers' yearning for respectability. The latter is evidenced by Communist literature representing the Vienna site as proof of the gathering's nonpartisan nature and evidence of the world-wide popularity of the event.

Staging the festival in Vienna presents many serious problems for the Communists. The festival will face in Vienna a belligerent and protesting population, not a cooperative and controlled one. Festival organizers cannot use visa red tape to seal off nonrepresentative students from the West. They cannot stop informed, intelligent and articulate young Americans and Europeans from telling the Western side of the story and disrupting the show. They cannot insure the intellectual rigidity of the Soviet bloc delegates by isolating them from the attractions of the West.

It is impossible to foretell what effect the "Service" and the site will have on the festival. But they certainly won't help it be what the Communists want it to be. At the very least, the "Service" and the site will disrupt the gaiety and splinter the solidarity of the 1959 Vienna Festival.

BOOKS

Down Beyond the Rio Grande

LOOK SOUTHWARD, UNCLE

By Edward Tomlinson. Devin-Adair. 349p. \$6

CENTRAL AMERICA: The Crisis and the Challenge

By John D. Martz. U. of North Carolina. 340p. \$7.50

Here are two North Americans who recount the story of 20th-century Latin America. They present it vividly and with an abundance of factual information. Apparently on purpose, however, neither one makes more than a passing reference to the cultural inheritance, still so alive and operative there, of the three centuries of Spanish presence. This omission is a pity, for many readers will try to assimilate today's Latin America as these two volumes present it, as a phenomenon without roots.

In the preface to *Look Southward, Uncle*, Mr. Tomlinson states that he is

writing for "the layman" rather than for the expert in the field. He does indeed interpret many of the typical Latin American's reactions which leave North Americans puzzled.

At considerable length he shows the important part that economics plays in determining political and social changes in Latin America. Some readers may find that he is somewhat overattentive to the hardships worked on U. S. investors by Latin American protective legislation and economic restrictions. They are faced with barriers (export taxes, limitations on foreign ownership of stock or withdrawal of profits, etc.) unknown up here. All of that, however, even when heightened by the quickness of Latin American national vanity to take offense, has not kept our trade with them from flourishing.

By comparison with South America, Central America is less developed socially, politically and in almost every

other way. Its six republics are not only markedly different; they are quite isolated from one another. Of necessity, therefore, John D. Martz' *Central America* deals with each of those republics in a separate chapter. Readers in our country will be especially interested by the chapter on Guatemala and its vivid account of the attempted Communist take-over in 1954. The chapter on Nicaragua will help to explain why so much resentment is still felt, by Nicaraguans and by others, toward the present Somoza regime.

Mr. Tomlinson is a veteran journalist whose assignments have kept him crisscrossing Latin America for more than 35 years; Mr. Martz is a recent graduate of Harvard with five years of frequent visits to Central America and assiduous study of its problems. The difference in the authors' ages is visible in the books, for *Look Southward, Uncle* reveals a more reflective, less academic approach and *Central America* a more positive, documented treatment. Mr. Tomlinson twits the AFL-CIO Latin American affiliate, ORIT, over some of its exploits, and Mr. Martz presses the United Fruit Co. on its record. Both books, however, fill a gap in our need to know more today about our neighbors to the south.

EUGENE K. CULHANE

Myth vs. Conscience

THE LIGHT INFANTRY BALL

By Hamilton Basso. Doubleday. 476p. \$4.50

Five years after he first presented a *View from Pompey's Head*, the story of a southern coastal town, Hamilton Basso returns to the same locale but to a different period. *The Light Infantry Ball* is an historical novel about plantation society in and around Pompey's Head during the Civil War years. Whereas in the earlier novel Mr. Basso was trying his hand at the you-can't-go-home-again theme, he might be said in this novel to be exploiting the you-must-leave-home-again theme.

John Bottomley, the hero of the present novel, was spoiled for plantation life by his schooling at what was then known as the College of New Jersey in Princeton and by his disappointed wooing of a Philadelphia debutante. Holed up at Deerskin, one of the family estates that he has been managing for his father, he has set tongues to clucking by his persistent indifference to the oglings of the eligible belles and by his moody refusal to join the social life of



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nearby Pompey's Head. Nor can he get very excited about all the folderol connected with the Light Infantry Ball, the annual celebration of a decisive victory at the Battle of Little Pigeon Marsh during the Revolutionary War. With rumors of war rumbling just off the horizon, some of the more hot-blooded members of this local militia unit are clamoring for aggressive action against the North.

John Bottomley's conflict stems from the growing realization that the feudal society of the plantation has been perpetuating a myth; yet his roots are sunk so deeply in this way of life that he finds it difficult to follow whither his conscience leads him.

This well-made novel, as leisurely paced as a magnolia-scented summer day, captures authentically the mood and the spirit of the South in those Civil War days. The suspense that keeps one eagerly turning the pages is built mainly around three episodes: the strange disappearance of John's brother Cameron; the clandestine profiteering in cotton by the head of the War Department for whom John works during the war; and John's gradual awakening to the solid merits of Miss Arabella Stanhope.

Although the author has no great talent for character drawing, his considerable gift for story telling should make this the pleasantest reading of the summer.

EDWARD P. J. CORBETT

Two Shorties

ABBOT EXTRAORDINARY, by Peter F. Anson (Sheed & Ward. 310p. \$4). Aelred Carlyle belongs to that long procession of unusually gifted English converts whose names are too well known to need much encomium, but whose stature was such that they provide material for extraordinary biographies. Benjamin Fearnly Carlyle, moving in that "ecclesiastical underworld" of the Anglican Establishment at the turn of the century which cherished dreams and relics of the medieval Church it hoped to restore, distinguished himself from many others by his ability to translate dream into reality. He established the "Benedictine" community on Caldey Island; he and his community were received into the Catholic Church and the former Abbot eventually took up another way of life as a diocesan priest in the Canadian Northwest. Here he ministered to the humble and the outcast. In both lives, he won love and reverence. Peter Anson tells the fascinating story with warmth and vitality in a superb and vastly interesting book.

J. EDGAR BRUNS

America • JULY 18, 1959

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PETER STUYVESANT AND HIS NEW YORK, by Henry H. Kressler and Eugene Rachlis (Random House, 309p. \$4.75). When Peter Stuyvesant assumed his duties as director-general of New Amsterdam in 1647, he began a career for which he was hardly prepared. For 18 hazardous and tumultuous years he tried to mold a brawling, lusty settlement (1,500 citizens; more than half of them on Manhattan), far more interested in trading than in godliness, into his own image of a God-fearing, abstemious Calvinist. But he did not reckon with the roistering independence of the polyglot populace. He failed—and this account is the lively, fresh and often very amusing chronicle of the man and the city which was even in Peter's days the most cosmopolitan, restless and nonconformist community on the Atlantic seaboard. What would Calvinist Peter think of it today, we wonder?

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

FILMS

PORGY AND BESS (Samuel Goldwyn-Columbia). George Gershwin's folk opera is an acknowledged modern classic which has achieved even greater success and acclaim in the capitals of Europe than in the country of its origin. I am sure that when Samuel Goldwyn decided to make it into a movie his hope was that on the screen it would be better than ever.

The film version has an announced cost of \$7 million, though this figure seems somewhat inflated even when allowance is made for such invisible costs as a disastrous preproduction fire and the necessity of paying salaries both to the man who was originally hired to direct the picture and to Otto Preminger who succeeded him in the job.

There are numerous theoretical advantages offered by the screen medium. To name only two: the beautiful color effects and broader scope which the Todd-AO photographic process makes possible, and the wizardry of the film laboratory which permits the hiring of the best available vocal talent (Robert McFerrin, Adele Addison, etc.) to record the music on the six-track stereophonic sound system while the best available dramatic talent acts the parts and goes through the motions of singing.

Technically speaking, the film's use of these added resources is impeccable. Yet the sad fact is that the result does

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not inject new life into *Porgy and Bess*; it rather drains off much of the vitality which was one of the undoubted assets of the original work.

The product is defective partly because of the difference in dynamics between the musical, especially the operatic, stage and the screen. This is a problem which no screen adaptation of a stage musical has ever been entirely successful in solving. It is accentuated with *Porgy and Bess* because it is supposed to be about simple, ignorant, impoverished people. The multi-million-dollar-production values plus a peculiarly unimaginative and uncinematic script combine to stifle the sense of reality and the emotional impact of the story.

Furthermore, capable performers though they are, the actors—Sidney Poitier as Porgy, Dorothy Dandridge as Bess, Pearl Bailey as Maria et al.—seem entirely too intelligent and sophisticated in the searching camera close-ups to be convincing in their roles. On the other hand, the one sophisticated character in the story—Sportin' Life—is played by Sammy Davis Jr. quite without a feeling for the man's inherent, snakelike evil. On the other hand, his rendition of "It Ain't Necessarily So" is so vastly skillful and entertaining that it very nearly cancels out his other shortcomings.

The film, in short, is exquisite to look at and its reproduction of the Gershwin score is well-nigh perfect. To obtain this physical perfection, however, it has sacrificed the universal human appeal which, as much as the music, was what endeared it to audiences all over the world. [L of D: A-II]

ANATOMY OF A MURDER (*Columbia*). It is comparatively rare to find two major films directed by the same man being released simultaneously. It happens here, however. Otto Preminger, who directed *Porgy and Bess*, also made this remarkable courtroom drama which I, for one, found by far the more satisfying movie of the two.

Adapted from last year's best-selling novel (and Wendell Mayes' script is a great improvement over the book) the film is altogether aptly titled. It does a complete job of dissecting a murder trial and the events leading up to it.

Both the Army officer defendant (Ben Gazzara) and his shallow, sexy wife (Lee Remick), whose alleged rape was the cause of the murder, remain enigmas throughout the film. The main focus of the story is on the courtroom maneuverings of the defense counsel (James Stewart), who tries to establish a reasonable basis for the plea of

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temporary insanity, and the counter-moves of the prosecutor (George C. Scott). Caught in the cross fire and quite able to hold his own in that position is a benignly shrewd and witty judge (played with inspired amateur zeal by former Army counsel Joseph N. Welch).

The motive for the murder necessitates some clinically frank testimony which, though handled with exceptional dignity and taste, is of dubious propriety in a medium the vast majority of whose patrons are immature either in age or outlook. There is no doubt, however, that Preminger has done a masterly job of assembling the jig-saw pieces of the story into an absorbing and intellectually stimulating movie for mature audiences. [L of D: Separate classification]

MOIRA WALSH

THE WORD

Let Thy merciful ears, O Lord, be open to the prayers of Thy lowly petitioners, and, in order to satisfy their desires, make them ask only such things as are pleasing to Thee (Prayer of the Mass for the Ninth Sunday after Pentecost).

There is a very fancy word which sometimes appears when feeble humans undertake the considerable task of talking with any accuracy about God, and that word is *anthropomorphic*. If men describe deity in strictly human terms and speak of their god as talking or walking or sleeping or eating or growing angry or becoming jealous or even (as in the case of the Olympian divinities) philandering, then that is anthropomorphism in religion.

Both the word and the trend constitute an interesting problem in undiluted Christianity, first, because the Old Testament—which has not been repealed—speaks constantly of God our Lord in the most resoundingly human though not debasing way, and, second, because of that shattering yet redemptive event which has literally changed everything, the blessed Incarnation. Anyone who wishes may patronize the Hebrew prophets for saying that God talked and walked and roused from sleep and waxed angry. But Christ the Incarnate Word did precisely and exactly all these things.

Holy Mother Church, therefore, does not scruple to mention the *merciful ears* of God, and to plead, with childlike simplicity, that they may be open to the prayers of God's lowly petitioners. Like

the fiery, pentecostal prophets whom she so liberally quotes in her liturgy, the Church suffers from no anthropomorphic delusion as to the transcendent, spiritual nature of God. But we must talk about God *somehow*, and when we beg that God's *merciful ears* may be open to our prayers, we are speaking not only with simplicity (as it is written: *Believe Me, unless you go back, and become like little children, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven*), but with insight and deep wisdom. The *merciful ears* of Christ God are as real as His Sacred Heart.

And, in order to satisfy their desires—"aye, there's the rub!" Can anyone seriously maintain that God our Lord, in spite of His admitted mercy, does promptly and consistently come to the aid of His laboring people in order to satisfy their desires? We meet again the mystery of imprecatory or petitionary prayer, and it is well that we do, for we cannot too often face the nagging puzzle posed by all the many Christian, Catholic, heartfelt prayers which, evidently, are never really answered.

The Church, the dear Bride of Christ and our beloved Mother, does actually resolve all our doubts, if we will only heed her. But this good Mother is so quiet and unobtrusive in her ways, so utterly different from the clamorous, brassy, lying, shameless, hateful hucksters of our day that sometimes we do not hear her when she speaks, sometimes we do not detect that she is answering, in her liturgy, a question which we hardly know that we have asked.

Does God our Lord truly wish to satisfy the desires of His people? Oh, yes, yes, yes; we may be utterly certain that His *merciful ears* and His loving Heart lie instantly and ever open to the prayers of His lowly petitioners. Only, one other truth must be remembered, one reasonable condition must be fulfilled, one more step must be taken by each of us *lowly petitioners*. And so Mother Church pleads wisely for us: *Make them ask only such things as are pleasing to Thee*.

It is difficult to see why anyone might object to praying thus. What are *such things as are pleasing to God our Lord*? Oh, unselfishness and all goodness and true holiness and courage and fraternal charity and deep peace and eternal happiness. But perhaps the best catalog of *such things* is to be found in the prayer which comes from the best possible source: the Our Father.

Well, then, as Holy Mother Church suggests at every Mass every day, *Oremus—Let us pray*.

VINCENT P. MCCORRY, S.J.